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582 the exogamous and endogamous mother's brother.

If the khal is from outside the tribe, we can do no wrong to him if he does no wrong to us. If the khal is a member of the tribe, he is respected; but not like the khal from outside the tribe. The feeling between a man and his khal is much stronger if the khal is from outside the tribe. Within my own 'aiela (secondary group), I respect the maternal uncles of Bait so-and-so as much as I respect the maternal uncles of my own bait (tertiary group).

[829] Ideas and sentiment about the mother's brother as they are related to complementary filiation should be interpreted as having a definite influence on marriage practice and politics in al-Qasr.

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+ 613 A sample from the marriages of 'Ailit Ma'fas (see Figure 10 below) shows that endogamous marriages are no more frequent than those which function to bring a new member into the corporate group--although the man's spouse never really becomes a member of the lineage. Only five of the

• [589] seventeen marriages were within the 'aiela, and one of these was a case of sororate which acted to maintain an already established tie. Six of the marriages were with groups not belonging to the Awlad 'Ali tribe. In each of these cases, with the exception of one, the marriage represents the establishment of ties between groups who live in areas contiguous with one another. Four of the marriages shown in Figure 10 were within the primary segment, i.e., with other lineages of al-Qasr; three out of these four were contracted with

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 133]

586 at the time of divorce (if the husband is in fault), and also
583 at the time of the husband's death; and, sadaq al-musaama
768 ("price of friendship") is paid to the wife when her husband
595 takes a second, third or fourth wife.

586 The second divorce case which happened while I was
158 in al-Qasr involved, what seems to be, an instance of psychotic
behavior. A girl, who had married shortly before I arrived
in the field, would fall into a deep sleep every time she
entered her husband's house. Each time her father would come
for her and take her home until she had recovered. But upon
her return, three different times, she became ill again.
Finally, her father and the husband agreed that this marriage
would not work, and the father returned the mahr to the man.
This case lasted over the period of almost a year while I
lived in al-Qasr. I suggested to the father that perhaps his
daughter did not wish to be married to this man but he assured
me that "she loved him very much."

586 If the girl's father is dead, so that she cannot
return to his house at the time of divorce, she will go to
live with the brother who needs her services. It then be-
comes the duty of the brother to make another marriage for
586 his sister, and in the case that he does it becomes his right
587 to claim the mahr for himself. The Bedouins say that virginity,
593 or the lack of it, in the case of the divorced woman is no
583 issue; just so a man knows "she is from a good family."

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* 613 Naturally, according to the rule of patriliney, all children from a marriage belong to the husband and become members of his lineage. Should divorce occur while a woman is nursing, she will take the child with her and it will be returned after weaning. Sometimes the husband will permit the wife to keep one child--always a girl--in order "to keep her company."

• 587 The practice of the sororate has been noted. The Bedouins also believe that "a man should marry his brother's widow so that she will have someone to help her with the children." But I have no data on the frequencies of these practices. When I gathered my data on marriage, my informants 12
58 would give me only the name of the tribe or lineage into which a man married, and never did I get the name of a man's wife.

[829] One lineage in al-Qasr, entirely refused to give me data on genealogy or marriage because, as one leader said, "it is not decent to speak of these things with people.") Sororal

595 polygny is forbidden (Quran IV:23), and the Bedouins say that a man cannot marry more than one bint 'amm. Marriage

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[587] practices, such as sororate and levirate, I interpret as patterns which maintain structural continuity and political advantage. The custom of permitting a man to marry only

[582] one of his father's brother's daughters may be seen as a precaution against intensifying authority relations and the degree of segmentation.

584 The bride's father
585 did not have to pay kabara, although he held
586 a big feast in which he slaughtered three sheep and invited the groom,
587 his father and a number of his friends and friends of the girl's father
in honor of the groom as a compromise.

- 583 Before the fatha is read, the two families usually agree on the amount of bridewealth, or "mahr", to be paid by the groom or his father. The amount of bridewealth depends upon a number of criteria, important among which is the relative position of the bride's and groom's families and the degree of relationship that exists between them. The lowest mahr is usually paid in the case of cousin marriages. The amount ranges from 10 to 50 pounds. Sometimes when the groom cannot afford any mahr, he pays only the religiously required sum of 25 Egyptian piasters. This is never the case if the groom and bride are more distantly related. When the groom is an outsider or a member of another tribe, the mahr is usually much higher. Several cases of mahr of more than 2,000 pounds are reported in the area. There was a case in which the mahr reached 10,000 Egyptian pounds (\$22,000). The amount of mahr also depends on the beauty of the bride. In the case of the highest known mahr mentioned above, the woman was known to be of great beauty. There
- [587] is no distinction made between previously married women and ones married for the first time. In the case above, the woman was married three times before, and the mahr was apparently higher than that paid for her
- [582] in her first marriage. Increasing the mahr according to the kinship distance between the bride and groom reflects the preference of endogamous marriages. The preferred marriage match in the area is that of
- 582 the patrilineal parallel cousin marriage. The father's brother's son, "ibn 'amm," has an undisputed claim over his cousin, "bint 'amm." Even when they are of incompatible age, or even if the man is married or for

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779 and although they are not considered wrong or sinful, there is a general feeling of distaste among the tribal population to such marriages.

They usually attribute this distaste to the fact that if the marriage with the first sister did not work out, there is no reason to expect the marriage with the second to be successful.* Although this might account, in part, for the low rate of cousin marriage in the group when present wives of the individuals are taken into consideration, yet, the effect of that practice should not be exaggerated. For although that prohibition might curb the marriage with the cousin who is the sister of a previous wife, it does not restrict the marriage with another cousin who is a cousin, rather than a sister of the first wife.

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431 During the period that follows and until the marriage is final, the groom is supposed to bring gifts to the bride. These gifts are usually a wide silver bracelet that is used as an engagement ring. Also gifts of clothes and jewelry are quite customary. Such gifts become the private property of the bride and are to be returned only if the engagement is broken for fault on the part of the bride or any member of her family. In such cases, her father has to return all the gifts his daughter has accepted as well as the expenses that the groom's visitations have cost him.

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431 The marriage is affected and finalized by the payment of the bride-wealth. In Islamic law the bride-wealth is supposed to be paid to the bride herself as a gift and not to her father, which had been a significant departure from the pre-Islamic practice where two types of bride-wealth were paid: the sadaqa paid to the father of the bride or her

• (587) * This does not apply to cases where the first wife dies. In such cases, it is not objectionable to marry her sister, although the incidences of sororate are rare among the population.

586 who forced her to marry the husband, or if she was cut off from the
582 family for some reason or another.
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586 From the frequency of women using this right in the area, it
582 seems that no social disapproval is associated with it, nor is there
584 a social stigma attached to women who throw themselves. They seem to
find it as easy to find a husband as those women divorced voluntarily
by their husbands or with the help of their fathers. In fact, as was
mentioned earlier, many of them marry the rich men over whom they
throw themselves. As to the amount of mahr paid for their subsequent
marriages, the fact of throwing themselves does not seem to be a factor
in determining the amount of mahr paid. In one of the cases, the woman
threw herself on an 'aqila of one of the Geneishat tribe after her
father refused to help her get a divorce from her husband who had married a second wife without first asking the first wife's permission.

[42] When the Geneishat member succeeded in convincing the husband to divorce his wife, the latter had no place to stay so remained in the house of her protector who acted as her guardian in place of her father who had refused to take her back in his home. While staying in the [583] house of her protector, she got many marriage offers; one of the suitors offered a mahr of L.E. 4,000 (\$10,000), one of the highest mahrs reported in the area. She agreed, and the marriage was affected. This mahr is about ten times the mahr she got for her first marriage. This procedure offers the woman a considerable guarantee of her marital rights. It also gives her, as far as the ability to dissolve the marriage, a status close to that of her husband. This relative equality is reflected is reflected in the lack of stigma associated with divorced

159 lived. Five years ago the husband died in a mining accident leaving
562 Fatma with a ten-month-old boy. By that time, her father had been dis-
428 abled, and her brothers wanted to manage her husband's store on her be-
593 half. Knowing that her brothers were greedy, she refused and insisted
444 that she take care of the store herself. The brothers objected on the
grounds that it was not customary for a decent woman to be exposed to
the customers in the store. When she insisted, the brothers threatened
her. When the threats did not work, they beat her. After that, she
(625) went to the police station in the area, filed a complaint against her
brothers, and asked for police protection. The police officer in charge
brought the brothers in and warned them that if they interfered with the
store, not only would he arrest them, but he would also use his influ-
ence to get them forced from the irrigation projects where three of them
worked. The threat worked, and they became friendly with their sister,
buying things for the store whenever they went to Alexandria and some-
times helping in the store with her consent when she was on housecalls
as a midwife. A year later Fatma was married for the second time to a
159 distant cousin; a few months later her father died. In a family meeting
562 that followed the funeral, Fatma made her announcement that she was claim-
428 ing her share of her father's herd. The brothers were angry and tried to
593 beat her. But the older members of the bait who were present at the meet-
233 ing stopped them and told them that Fatma had all the right to claim her
• (587) share of the inheritance according to Awlad Ali ways and that there was
nothing that they could do about it. She was characterized in that
(578) meeting as "bint haram" (illegitimate child), an insult used to refer
to those who show selfishness in their kinship obligations. When she
left the camp with her share of the herd, this seemed to have severed

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wife he usually chooses a young girl of about twenty years. Children of the elder wife might be adult, therefore, when the children of the junior wife are infants. Great emphasis is placed on seniority, particularly among males, but strong emphasis is also placed on the equality of siblings and their equal legal status. Between brothers of widely differing ages, there is, then, this field of potential conflict. From an early date competitive, if not hostile, relationships develop between the sons of co-wives. Competition between half-brothers results not only from their mothers being co-wives: one group might be the sons of a divorced wife. The latter situation is often much worse, for the sons born of the divorced wife are now being fostered by a woman who is not their mother. A similar condition of things is brought about when a widower with sons remarries. Yet again, when a wife grows old and her sons have reached maturity, her husband may not divorce her formally, but merely 'throw her off his back'; she will then go to live with her grown sons, while her husband, in turn, takes a new wife, usually taking up residence in another camp for a time at least. It would be too much of a digression here to discuss the inheritance disputes, and the disputes over marriage and bride-wealth, which arise out of these various circumstances. Suffice it to note that such disputes are common and affect the alignment of people within a tertiary segment. [613]

As half-brothers grow to maturity some of them will marry their maternal cross-cousins, and in succeeding generations some of their descendants will do likewise. In this way, a tertiary segment united by the bond of agnation, will also have within it smaller groups of kin having different sets of cognatic links. This group, as a residential unit, shows a very high concentration of agnates, and the Bedouin say with pride that members of the camps are always 'one' because of this agnatic bond, and indeed, the corporate identity of this group is strikingly displayed in many circumstances. It does not take precedence in all circumstances, for, built into agnation, with the heavy burden of duties which go with it, are serious stresses and strains which in some circumstances regularly come out into the open. In yet other circumstances cognatic kinship affiliations appear to be dominant, causing friction among agnates. A man, for example, may permit

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The Bedouin of Cyrenaica

would be impossible to satisfy all marriage expectations of men within the universe of the minimal tribal section. For this reason alone external links are inevitable and persistent. Also, the small territorial strip such a group claims as a homeland produces an economy which, in this environment, is unstable. Additional security is gained by making connections with other tribal sections, each with its specific ecological character. Men also marry into their client groups. The proportion of these for this camp was 9 per cent of the total. From these links they gain economic advantages, they can claim services and a client-following is politically significant. Finally, 7 per cent of the total¹⁸ are marriages with women of other tribes, which again not only reduces the instability of the economy (in that a large tribal area suffering near-famine conditions has access to areas of markedly different ecology), but also provides political connections for men whose power ambitions have passed the point of leadership limited to their own tribes. In one way or another all these interests are manifest in the small camp and attention is now directed to the latter.

The disposition of people in the camp is represented diagrammatically on the page following.

The nucleus of the camp is Tent A. Its owner (1) was a powerful *Shaikh*, the son of a famous father. His marriage represents a political link with a group of one of the primary sections of his own tribe. His father died only a few years before I recorded my census, and the large amount of moveable property he left had still not been divided among the sons; the owner of the tent, as eldest brother, still controlled the flocks and herds. Most of his time he spent away from the camp engaging in political intrigue. His two younger brothers lived in his tent, but the second (5) would not remain there long because negotiations for his marriage had been started. His father (2) married a parallel cousin; she died and shortly afterwards he took her sister (3) in sororal union. When this occurred an amount of bride-wealth was agreed, but instead of giving any of it to her father, the entire amount was "put in front of her" (that is, the animals were allowed to remain with her husband's flock), and these animals she had marked with her brother's tribal sign to distinguish them from those of her husband. It was widely known that she was going to leave these animals to her husband's second son, for although she could not transfer them to a male outside her husband's corporate group, she could decide who, among his heirs, should inherit.

During my stay in this camp, her brother's son (4) came to it as a temporary resident for a month. Since he was poor, the purpose of his visit was to capture some of his aunt's wealth while she was still alive and the possibility still existed. During his stay he was fed well but did no work. His kinsmen found his company tiresome, so, to cut short his stay, and after consulting her nominated heir (5), she gave him three grown goats. Also when an occasion arose for an animal slaughter, she provided the sheep, and,

¹⁸ The remainder is made up of marriages to the daughters of men incorporated into the lineages.